

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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ANTI-SUFFRAGISMS ILLUSTRATED.

III.—Men will never be ruled by women.



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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom; to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it; to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

It is no doubt the wish of the Government that the General Election shall be deferred, at least till the Coronation is over and as long after that as possible; but Mr. Redmond's recent speech makes it very doubtful whether they will succeed in postponing the election beyond next January. Mr. Redmond warns the Government that if the Conference results in any compromise whereby a measure of Home Rule, though passed by the House of Commons, could in the same Parliament be rejected by the House of Lords, "the Irish Party will drive from office within a month, by a sleepless and relentless opposition, any Government capable of such an act of treachery and dishonour." Judging by all the available evidence, the Ministerial parties to the Conference are in a by no means militant mood, and are favourably inclined to a compromise of the

kind which the Irish leader condemns. Thus a conflict between the Irish Party and the Government seems likely. Or in the alternative the Conference may break down altogether, in which event an early election could not well be avoided.

"More Remorseless."

The coming General Election will be one of vital importance to women, whether or not the Suffrage Bill becomes law before it occurs. It is for the Government to consider whether they can afford to have the women against them when they next go to the country. For, although Suffragists do not share in full measure the power which Mr. Redmond derives from the Irish vote to prevent or to punish any breach of faith on the part of the Prime Minister, nevertheless they are able, as the last General Election proves, seriously to disturb the balance of parties. If the Conciliation Bill is not passed in the present Session, women will be even more earnest and more remorseless than the Irish Party could possibly be in their opposition to those who have prevented the measure from passing through its final stages into law.

Men and Militant Methods.

Men, however much they may criticise the methods of the Suffragettes, are quick to sympathise with members of their own sex who, with far less justification, resort to similar methods. Thus, we have "A Country Solicitor" writing to the *Times* to advise that a Passive Resistance League be formed, and that landowners shall refuse to fill up the returns which they are required to make for Budget purposes. Mr. Lyttelton Gell, in a further letter to the *Times*, endorses this position by saying, "Can we be surprised at the widespread temper of passive resistance which 'A Country Solicitor' puts into words?" Again, the Rev. A. G. Carlyle, in supporting the trade unionist view of the Osborne judgment, and after referring to "orderly

and constitutional means," says: "If no way out of the difficulty is found, the wage-earners may find themselves thrown back upon modes of expression and action of a very different kind." It is to be hoped that if the Government compel women to resort once more to militant methods it will be remembered that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

Government by Consent.

Writing of the situation in India, *The Nation* says:—
For our Indian Empire we must have Indian support. We cannot continue indefinitely to rule without the consent of the governed. Where then is the support to be sought? We can look for it hopefully only among the very classes which to-day are most permeated by "unrest." An Empire is doomed which allows the most awakened and the best educated elements to organise as a permanent opposition.

Whether or no this argument will support *The Nation's* claims for India, it is certainly very applicable to the situation in Great Britain. By attempting to govern women without their consent, the Liberal Government have driven the most awakened and best educated women into revolt, from which they will never cease so long as sex is made the pretext for disfranchising them.

Government without Consent.

The text of the International Convention prohibiting night work for women has just been published. The Ministers signing the Convention on behalf of the various nations who are party to it do not represent women, and thus the industrial interests of women may be disposed of by politicians over whom they have no control. Any proposal, good, bad, or indifferent, for restricting women's employment can be carried into effect in defiance of the wishes of those concerned, provided it commends itself to a band of irresponsible men who are of necessity imperfectly informed as to women's needs, and are sometimes deliberately advancing the interests of their own sex at the expense of the other sex.

The Mothers of the Nation.

We are often told that although women have not a vote their interests are always carefully considered by legislators. We look therefore at the Midwives' Bill now before Parliament—a Bill of grave importance to women—and we find that where one very important clause is concerned no attention whatever has been paid to the representations made by the Midwives' Institute, backed by the Central Midwives' Board and other societies. The clause in question is one which imposes a great injustice upon many thrifty, hard-working women. Under the Midwives' Act of 1902, a midwife is bound in certain cases of serious complication to advise that a medical man be summoned. The Act, however, makes no provision for the payment of the doctor, and therefore, clause 17 of the new Bill directs that his fee shall be paid by the Board of Guardians. This means that although a poor woman may have carefully put aside the fee for the midwife, she is compelled in the case of unforeseen complications necessitating the attendance of a doctor to receive relief from the Poor Law Guardians through the instrumentality of the relieving officer. The very idea of this is so repugnant to many of the poor, that they would rather risk grave danger to life than seek it.

Giving the Case Away.

And be it noticed that the Government propose this highly objectionable plan not in ignorance as to its serious consequences, but with the deliberate and avowed purpose of deterring the mothers of the country from seeking skilled medical aid when their own life and that of their child is at stake. As Mrs. Sidney Webb puts it in her letter to the Press:—

Lord Sheffield let the cat out of the bag in the House of Lords debate. Supporting the Government proposal to bring, for the first time, the Poor Law machinery into this matter of summoning the doctor to a poor woman in grave emergency, he said that there were "too many proposals to give people the benefit of being paupers without any of the stigma." He believed "in a little hardness and sternness in these matters." He made it clear that the fear of the payment having eventually to be made by the Board of Guardians would deter, and was intended to deter, the doctor being sent for. And Lord Beauchamp, summing up for the Government, accepted that position, by explaining that it was quite a mistake to suppose that there was any legal obligation on anyone, whether midwife or husband, to send for the doctor, however grave the emergency.

Mrs. Webb continues:—

It is interesting to women to note that when a person meets with an accident in the street, or is found in need of medical aid, and a doctor is summoned by the policeman, the doctor's fee is paid without question, without Poor Law inquiry, and without any power of recovery, out of the police rate. But then, the person thus treated is, in nine cases out of ten, a man!

We would further remind women that for soldiers is provided free medical aid without humiliating conditions, although to mothers, who at the risk of their life serve the State by bringing citizens into the world, is given no such protection. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has in view a State-aided scheme, to be quite dissociated from the Poor Law System, for insuring workmen against sickness. In short, the motherhood of the nation is being singled out for special and degrading treatment. Here, indeed, is a commentary upon the claim made by certain members of the Liberal Government that they have a special care for the interests of married women!

An Illogical Conclusion.

It is impossible to understand how the Kaiser can draw from the life of Queen Louise of Prussia the moral that the duty of German women is to devote themselves to home affairs to the exclusion of public affairs, for by his own showing, Queen Louise not only fulfilled to admiration her domestic and family duty, but was also full of public spirit and patriotic fervour. "When all, even statesmen and generals, gave up hope, she alone never doubted as to the future of the Fatherland. She roused the people to the idea that they should flock around the King and win back the people." If one woman was able so to help in the regeneration of her country, the womanhood of Germany, set free and endowed with citizen rights could do great things indeed for the nation.

Edinburgh Women Compositors.

In last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN we published an interview with Miss McLean, the Secretary of the Women Compositors' Society, in which the position of the Edinburgh women compositors was described. The men, it will be remembered, demand the "ultimate total abolition of female labour," involving the loss of a livelihood to 800 women. During the week both men and women have been received in conference by the Masters' Association. The masters continue to decline to take the responsibility of excluding the women from a trade for which they are naturally suited, and the men continue to demand, among other things, the total exclusion of women. The strike, which seems now inevitable, will affect about 3,000 men; the women, however, have decided to remain in the offices. As we remarked last week, the position points to the fact which we constantly impress upon our readers, that such disputes, affecting both men and women, can never be adequately dealt with until women have the Parliamentary vote.

The Women of Cradley Heath.

We publish in another part of the paper an account by our representative of the women chain-makers at Cradley Heath. The article is the result of visits to many of the women concerned. It is interesting to note that the *Times*, which alludes to the position at Cradley Heath as "an interesting little dispute among the female chain-makers," says "the whole circumstances fully justify public sympathy, and we hope that the women will get their new wage without further delay."

The Moment is Ripe!

On Tuesday, November 15, Parliament meets. On the preceding Thursday, November 10, a great meeting of women will gather in the Albert Hall, London, to demand

the passing of the Bill. The moment is ripe: never was the political situation of greater significance. Already a large number of applications for tickets have been received; those who wish to be present therefore should not delay. In addition to this great meeting, a number of meetings in many parts of the country are being held. Mrs. Pankhurst is addressing large and enthusiastic meetings in Scotland. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at Yarmouth, York, Bridlington, Herne Bay, Eastbourne and Hastings, on the 8th, 14th, 15th, 21st, 23rd, and 28th, respectively. Full particulars will be found in "Announcements" and under Organisers' Reports. Miss Christabel Pankhurst will speak at Birmingham Town Hall on September 28.

The "Votes for Women" Competition.

A very short time remains in which competitors can take their place in the ranks of those working in the VOTES FOR WOMEN competition, and we commend our readers' attention to the details of the competition which appear below. It is at the present moment of the utmost importance that the public should fully understand the political situation, and the only way to ensure this is by individual effort. VOTES FOR WOMEN must be known and read by everyone. The competition offers the most sure and rapid way of reaching new readers.

Items of Interest.

At the unfortunate fire at Messrs. Morley and Lanceley's, Brixton, on the 20th ult., it was noted in the Press that the girls immediately responded to the call of the assistant who gave the alarm, and that although the flames burst out in the girls' bedrooms three minutes after they had escaped, there was absolutely no panic.

The late Dr. Emily Stowe, of Toronto, was the first woman to practise medicine in Canada, and a memorial is to be erected to her in the Normal Schools of Toronto. Dr. Emily Stowe made a great fight for the higher education of women in Canada, and through her persistent efforts Toronto University was opened to women, the municipal franchise was extended to them, and the Married Women's Property Act was passed.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The weekly free meetings in London on Monday afternoons and Thursday evenings will re-commence in October, the first meeting being held on Monday afternoon, October 3, at 3 p.m., in the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be in the chair and Miss Christabel Pankhurst and others will speak.

Great Albert Hall Meeting.

As Parliament reassembles on Tuesday, November 15, it has been decided to hold a great meeting on the previous Thursday, November 10, in the Royal Albert Hall. This meeting will mark the culmination of the great campaign which is being held in the early autumn all over the country to urge the Government to allow time for the further stages of the Woman Suffrage Bill this Session.

As an enormous number of women are expected, a full lot of the hall has again been taken, as on Saturday, June 18, and in consequence the special regulations of the Albert Hall concerning such lots will be in operation. That is to say, there can be no public sale of tickets.

But as before, for the convenience of members of the Women's Social and Political Union, certain portions of the hall will be set aside for them and their friends (men and women), and numbered and reserved tickets for these can be purchased, by members, from the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. The prices of these seats are as follows—Amphitheatre Stalls, 2s.; Arena, 1s.; Upper Orchestra, 6d.; Grand Tier Boxes (holding ten), 30s.; Loggia (holding eight), 21s.; 2nd Tier Boxes (holding five), 12s. 6d. The local W.S.P.U.'s will, as before, be given the first opportunity of taking up the Grand Tier Boxes.

On the last occasion, owing to late application, many members were disappointed and unable to obtain tickets; they are specially invited, therefore, to apply at once, especially as applications are already rapidly coming in.

A Vigorous Campaign.

Mrs. Pankhurst is continuing her tour in the Highlands, so successfully begun at Bridge of Allan last Monday. A large number of meetings have been arranged, particulars of which will be found on page 787, and all who would like the opportunity of hearing Mrs. Pankhurst and would help in arranging other meetings are invited to communicate with Miss Una Dugdale, c/o Miss Macfarlane, 8, Melville Place, Edinburgh. Other important meetings are being arranged elsewhere, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's engagements include a meeting in the Town Hall at Yarmouth next Thursday, September 8, at 8 p.m., meetings in Yorkshire on September 14 and 15, Herne Bay on September 21, Eastbourne on September 23, and Hastings on September 28. Details of many other meetings will be found under Reports from Organisers, page 732, and Holiday Campaigns, page 787.

The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

Several new postcards of the great Procession in London, on July 23, are now on sale. From the Woman's Press may also be obtained literature suitable for holiday campaigns: this includes an excellent postcard cartoon, "What's Sauce for the Peer is Sauce for the Premier," price 1d. each or 7s. per hundred; two leaflets on the Conciliation Bill and why it should become law, (1) "The Votes for Women Bill," 6d. per hundred or 4s. per thousand, post free, (2) "The Conciliation Bill Explained," 9d. per hundred, 6s. per thousand, post free; and "The Men's Case for a Million Votes for Women" (full reports of the speeches in the House of Commons in favour of the Bill), discount price 3d.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" COMPETITION. £50 IN PRIZES

Enter our Competition now and help the Cause by pushing the Sale of the Paper.

Class A.—Obtaining New Subscribers.

For those who obtain and send to the Circulation Manager, 4, Clements Inn, during the months of July, August and September, the largest number of subscriptions (of not less than six months) to VOTES FOR WOMEN.

1st Prize: Lady's Bicycle. 2nd Prize: Gun-metal Watch. 3rd Prize: Bound volume of "Votes for Women," 1909-10. To help competitors a special book, containing ten order forms, can be obtained free at all the W.S.P.U. shops and meetings, or will be sent post free on application.

Class B.—Individual Selling.

Prizes will be awarded to the sellers who dispose of the largest number of copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN during the months of July, August and September.

1st Prize: Lady's Bicycle. 2nd Prize: Gun-metal Watch. 3rd Prize: Bound volume of "Votes for Women," 1909-10. Competitors should obtain a special card. These cards can be obtained free at all shops or meetings or by post from the Publisher, VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Class C.—Pitch Selling.

Two prizes will be given for the captains at whose pitches the largest aggregate number of VOTES FOR WOMEN are disposed of during the months of July, August and September.

1st Prize: Gun-metal Watch to Captain and bound volume of "Votes for Women" to each of her sellers. 2nd Prize: Bound volume of "Votes for Women" to Captain and memento to each of her sellers.

Class D.—Local Unions.

First and second prizes will be given for the largest aggregate sales by local Unions during the months of July August and September.

Class E.—Country Campaigns.

First and second prizes will be given for the largest aggregate sales by Country Campaign centres during the months of July, August and September.

(Form of Prizes in Classes D and E will be announced later.)

Class F.—Posters.

Two prizes will be given to those who are most successful in interesting newsgagents in the paper and inducing them to exhibit a poster each week. The prizes will be for the largest number of promises obtained to show posters regularly. Orders obtained should be sent direct to the Circulation Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn.

1st Prize: Gun-metal Watch. 2nd Prize: Bound volume of "Votes for Women." The Circulation Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, will be pleased to supply further information in answer to any enquiries by post.

Debenham & Freebody

Wigmore Street.
(Cavendish Square) London.W

New Knitted Silk Coats.



The most useful garment imaginable. Suitable alike for dressy occasions and town wear, as well as for the seaside, the river, travelling, outdoor sports, and foreign seaside resorts.

The style and effect of a perfect fitting Tailor-made garment, with the comfort and warmth of a negligé wrap. In black, white, and all the newest shades, including early autumn tints. Made exclusively for Debenham & Freebody.

NEW SILK COAT (as sketch)

72/6

Longer length,

4 gns. to 6 gns.

Caps to match, 8/11

SILKUNA COATS, closely resembling real silk in appearance, in a wide range of fashionable shades.

59/6

Caps to match, 5/11

Sent on approval.

Debenham & Freebody

THE CONCILIATION COMMITTEE'S BILL.

Some Comments and Some Facts.

PRESS OPINIONS.

"EDINBURGH EVENING NEWS."

Attacked for voting against a limited Suffrage Bill, Mr. Lloyd George says the true and only solution is a Bill giving universal suffrage. Logically and ideally, that is perfectly true. Only the British people has never been in the habit of carrying out political reform on logical lines, or carrying any principle at once to its full conclusion. The French are in these respects thoroughgoing, and in consequence their political history has been more dramatic, but less steady, than our own. Women's Suffrage just now is at a stage remarkably like that of the working-man franchise in the days of the early Radicals. What a disappointment was the First Reform Bill! It was assailed at once as a mere enfranchisement of the middle class. But it was a beginning, and upon it the structure of a fuller franchise was gradually built. Just so with women's franchise. Mr. Lloyd George hints that a partial enfranchisement would tend really to strengthen the forces of reaction. The Bill, he says, was not a democratic one. He has never voted for an undemocratic Bill. "And I will tell you why—there are so many artificial obstacles in the way of progress that I decline absolutely to have anything to do with multiplying them." This implies that the limited number of women enfranchised under a property qualification would be generally conservative in interest. It is scarcely possible to judge, though the number of educated and enlightened women, women who are out in the world working for their living, and not simply fossilising in a dull, frigid gentility, is increasing daily. As long as a property qualification exists for men, it cannot be objected to on principle in the case of women.

"PROSPICE" IN A LETTER TO "THE NATION"

What is the meaning of the charge that the late Woman's Suffrage Bill was not democratic? Democracy is the rule of the whole people by the whole people, and anything falling short of this may rightly be called undemocratic. Our present law, which upholds the rule of a minority of sane adults, is a case in point. But any increase of that minority is an approach towards government by the whole people. The Bill gave votes to people who have none, and deprived no one of the vote he has; therefore, relatively to the present state of things, it was a democratic proposal.

The wealth or poverty of the persons enfranchised is nothing to the point. A rich man or woman is as integral a part of the whole people as a poor one. Would Mr. Lloyd George consider it a democratic measure to disfranchise all persons liable to super-tax?

"ISLE OF WIGHT ADVERTISER."

It will be nothing short of scandalous if the Cabinet doesn't allow the Bill to make progress, and be passed. The House has plainly intimated that it is in favour of the immediate enfranchisement of women, and it is a national disgrace—not to say calamity—that in the face of this Mr. Asquith should, because he is violently opposed to the measure, be able to bar the Bill's progress, and incidentally flout the House of Commons. "The will of the people shall prevail" is the cry of the Liberal Party, and Mr. Asquith is trying to demonstrate that this is only a cry and nothing else. But despite the Premier's obstinacy the "will of the people shall prevail," and the women of this country will win the vote. The leader of the Liberal Party might as well try and stop the sea coming in as stop the passing of the women's enfranchisement measure. One day he will see—when he has lost the support of his women Liberals—that he was very shortsighted, not to say unstatesmanlike.

FROM INDIA.

A correspondent in Bombay writes: "I see Mr. F. E. Smith is reported to have said that Orientals object to be governed by women. This is an entirely Anglo-Indian conception, and is not justified at all by facts. In many parts of India women have great influence, and because they do not behave like Western women, and have not the same etiquette, they are imagined to be poor down-trodden people, but this is not the case."

SOME FACTS.

A correspondent sends us some interesting figures from Paisley, where she analyzed the classes of women on the municipal register. The result of her figures is as follows:—

Working women (trades mentioned) ...	474
Widows ...	137
Property owners ...	895
Tenants ...	167
Spinners ...	446
Property owners ...	84
Wives ...	57
Joint ...	107
Tenants ...	2,344

Fully 85 per cent., she says, belong to the working classes.

Here is one more fact in answer to Mr. Lloyd George's accusation against the Bill as being undemocratic.

TEXT OF THE BILL.

TO EXTEND THE PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE TO WOMEN OCCUPIERS.

Be it enacted, etc.:

1. Every woman possessed of a household qualification, or of a ten-pound occupation qualification, within the meaning of The Representation of the People Act (1832), shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered to vote for the county or borough in which the qualifying premises are situated.
2. For the purposes of this Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter, provided that a husband and wife shall not both be qualified in respect of the same property.
3. This Act may be cited as "The Representation of the People Act, 1910."

HOW MEN QUALIFY FOR THE VOTE.

Under the existing law men in order to possess the franchise have to qualify in one or other of the following capacities:—(1) Occupiers, (2) owners, (3) lodgers, (4) university graduates.

(1) Occupiers are divided into two classes—householders (technically known as inhabitant occupiers) and occupiers who are not householders.

Householders are those who actually dwell in a house or part of a house which they either own or rent. There is no limit of value, so however small a rent be paid or however small a part of the house be occupied, even only a single room, provided the terms on which it is rented give her entire control over it, a woman householder can claim the franchise.

Occupiers other than householders are those who occupy lands, farms, offices, shops, and other buildings otherwise than for residence. In their case the occupied premises must be of the clear yearly value of at least £10.

In boroughs any number of persons may be joint occupiers of either kind, but the value of the premises occupied must be such as to give £10 (or more) for each occupier claiming the franchise. In counties not more than two persons may claim the vote as joint occupiers for the same premises unless they shall have derived the same by descent, succession, marriage, marriage settlement, or unless they shall be *bona fide* engaged as partners carrying on trade or business. (This proviso is obviously directed against the manufacture of votes by a number of people joining to take a farm for the purpose of obtaining them.)

(2) Owners, in order to obtain a vote, must be possessed in a county constituency either of freehold estate valued at not less than £5 per annum, or under circumstances of leasehold property.

(3) Lodgers in order to obtain a vote must occupy apartments of the value of not less than 2s. 10d. per week. (The apartments may be let furnished, but in either case the minimum rental of 2s. 10d. a week—i.e., £10 a year—is reckoned on the unfurnished value.)

(4) University graduates are those who have graduated in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London, Dublin, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Glasgow, or Aberdeen, and their votes are for special members of Parliament who represent their Universities.

WHO WOULD GET THE VOTE UNDER THE BILL.

The effect of the passage of the new Bill would be to give women occupiers the vote while continuing to withhold it from women owners, lodgers, and graduates. From the foregoing it will be seen that women occupiers are many times more numerous than all the other classes put together. The estimate of the Conciliation Committee is that about one million women will be enfranchised under this Bill.

At the monthly meeting of the Walsall Trades Council on August 15, Mr. Giles moved that the Conciliation Committee's Women's Suffrage Bill be supported. Mr. Roberts seconded, and it was decided with two dissentients to support the Bill.

TESTIMONIAL TO MRS. ELMY.

Many suffragists have already taken the opportunity of expressing their admiration for Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy's lifelong work for women by subscribing to the Memorial of which we gave details in a recent number. Already about £40 has been contributed. Those who wish to share in the honour done to this veteran fighter, are asked to send their subscriptions without delay to the Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Martindale, Portsea, Keynes, Sussex.

CAN WOMEN FIGHT?

But by record of antique times I find:
That women went in war to bear most away,
And to all great exploits themselves incline;
Of which they still the girlhood bore away:
Till envious men, fearing their rules decay,
Gave coyne straight laws to curb their liberty.

BRANNA.

HOLIDAY SKETCHES.

Last week we published some slight sketches sent us by suffragettes on their holidays. This week others have come to Clements Inn. Like the strawberry-plant, the runners of which spread out and take root a little further on, the women's movement triumphantly goes on its way and even in far remote places sturdy plants are sending down their roots.

I.

A railway carriage. Passengers, hot, dusty and tired. Time, early morning, and the journey has taken all night. "I see you are a Suffragette! I recognise the badge." She is a Swiss governess, and greatly interested in the movement. And so in the early morning light, with a magnificent panorama of lake and mountain passing outside the windows, the story of the women's fight is told again.

II.

In a wooden hostel perched in a flowery meadow at the foot of great mountains, two English women meet as strangers. The buzz of talk in foreign tongues is of holiday doings, of climbs and the distances and heights of mountains. But theirs is different. "And so you have been in prison! Do tell me about it. I am so interested in the Suffragettes."

III.

Pushing an invalid chair up a hill in August is not light work. This is the love-task of a Suffragette in a hilly district. Two men pass, but do not offer to lend a hand. Presently a woman passes. The Suffragette inquires of her the way and whether there is a good view at the top. Instantly she insists upon helping to push. Suddenly the eyes of the Suffragette catch sight of the button with the magic words: No more need of thanks then, only eager enquiries and cordial greetings. This woman, the only W.S.F.U. member in that remote place, wears her button day in and day out, and engages many in conversation over the glad news. It is an echo of the great thunder-roll of the march of the women's army.

IV.

"And what do you think of the Suffragettes?" It is one of many questions the artist and her friend ask the pretty gipsy-girl who is sitting as model for an impressionist sketch among the bracken by the sea. "I never heard of them, lady." It seems almost impossible, for this is within 50 miles of London! The artist's companion takes off her "Votes for Women" badge and pins it on the gipsy girl's coat. And so the message goes even into the gipsy camp, surely a strange place for the seed to be sown!

MRS. PANKHURST'S HIGHLAND TOUR.

The response to the appeal in last week's Votes for Women has been splendid, and Miss Una Dugdale reports that there has hardly been time to answer the "dozens of letters" received, and to thank those who are working so actively to ensure successful meetings. Miss Ure, of Stirling, organised the initial meeting at Bridge of Allan on Monday, and Mrs. Taylor, of Chipchase, Miss Dempster, and Mr. George McCulloch are most gratefully thanked for arrangements for the Crieff meeting. Mrs. Taylor also organised the Town Hall meeting taking place on Thursday, the 31st, at Aberfeldy. Other meetings arranged are:—

Friday Sept. 2	North Berwick, Foresters' Hall; Chair, Mrs. Dobbie of Gullane, 8 p.m.
Saturday "	3 Drawing Room Meeting, Gullane; Hostess, Mrs. Dobbie, 5 p.m.
Monday "	5 St. Andrews, Town Hall, 8 p.m.
Tuesday "	6 Drawing Room Meeting at the Gynid; Hostess, Mrs. Ouchterlony, 3 p.m.
Thursday "	8 Elgin, Town Hall, 8 p.m.
Friday "	9 Inverness Music Hall, 8 p.m.
Tuesday "	13 Grantown-on-Spey.
Wednesday "	14 Newtonmore; Chair, Mrs. Garrett Anderson, M.D., 4 p.m.
Friday "	16 Thurso, 3 p.m., and Wick, 8 p.m.
Monday "	19 Dornoch, 8 p.m.

Further offers of help in connection with the meetings arranged will be gratefully received by Miss Una Dugdale, care of Miss Macfarlane, 8, Melville Place, Edinburgh. It is proposed to hold a meeting in Perth on the return journey; will any interested in this write to Miss Dugdale at once? A brief account of the first meeting appears on page 795.

DEXHILL-ON-SEA.

Organiser—Miss Ethel Lory, Miss Constance Warden, Thorne Bank, Duxbury Road. Splendid meetings have been held. Further particulars from the organisers.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Hon. Sec.—Miss K. Raleigh, The Chestnut Cottage, Wendover. Between September 1 and 13, Miss K. Raleigh, staying at Mrs. Hamilton's house (Kiddlyfont), will be glad of help in informal village meetings at places off the railway line, and also at Amersham and Missenden.

CORNWALL.

Organiser—Miss Edith Williams, Glanacon, Devenay, B.S.O. The holiday campaign started last week at Perranporth is being carried on with most encouraging results. The people, who are keenly interested in politics, have received the Suffragettes with much cordiality and appreciation. A most successful open-air meeting has

been addressed by Lady Burford Hancock (in the chair) and Miss A. M. Wright.

DEVONSHIRE.

Miss Helen Craggs is at Ilfracombe. Letters addressed to her at 4, Clements Inn will be forwarded. Miss Annie Kenney will speak at the Runnecleave Theatre, on Thursday, September 8, at 8 p.m. Tickets at Moore's, 115, High Street, 1s. and 6d. reserved, 3d. unreserved. Mrs. M. H. Mackworth and Miss Pridden have visited Barnstaple, Bideford and other places, holding large and successful meetings and selling Votes for Women.

EAST KENT COAST.

See Canterbury and Thanet report, page 794.

LINCOLNSHIRE COAST.

A successful meeting was held at Cleethorpe, Sutton-on-Sea and Mablethorpe were also visited, and Skegness will follow.

NORTH WALES.

Organiser—Miss Rachael Barrett, B.Sc., 1, Clements Inn, London, W.C.

Miss Rachael Barrett has returned to Carnarvon, and letters sent to her at Clements Inn will be forwarded. The campaign conducted by Dr. Helena Jones and Miss Jessie Smith was a most successful one. Votes for Women sold rapidly; hearty good wishes greeted the workers everywhere; the audiences were always attentive and collections good. In three weeks over 500 Votes for Women were sold, besides pamphlets and books.

SEAFORD.

Mrs. Penn Gaskell, Mrs. Leigh and Miss Naylor have addressed very large and interested audiences; and other speakers are expected. The sales of Votes for Women are splendid, and the local press is devoting many columns to the meetings.

SHERINGHAM.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Dorothy Pethick, Grove House, Beeston Road, Lower Sheringham.

The campaign on the Norfolk Coast is still continuing, and Miss Dorothy Pethick and Miss Bowker will be glad to hear of any members or friends who will help in selling Votes for Women or getting up meetings. The flag has flown for many weeks in Beeston Road, and everyone knows the significance of the tricolour. This next week it is hoped to touch Cromer and Holt, and if friends living in other places on the Norfolk Coast will communicate with Miss Pethick other places can also be visited and meetings held. The campaign will soon draw to a close as the autumn work in the provinces recommences, so it is urgent that all offers of help should come at once. The good work done by Miss Maguire has given later workers a pleasant reception in Sheringham.

SOUTHEND.

Organiser—Miss Laura Ainsworth, c/o Miss Haslock, St. Ursula, King's Road, Westcliff.

Most successful meetings, splendid sales, and everyone ready to hear more of the "ever-popular subject" (vide Press). Private and garden meetings include one kindly arranged for to-morrow by Mrs. Phillips, of Hockley. Will all friends not yet in touch with the organiser please communicate? Very pleasant work—if only for half an hour a day—can be given! Friends in Shoeburyness and Leigh are asked to put themselves in touch with Miss Laura Ainsworth, as she is hoping to visit those places. Many thanks to members for invaluable help, especially Mrs. Sky, Mrs. Holman, and Miss Walcott.

Friday, September 2.—Westcliff, St. Ursula, Drawing-room Meeting, 2.30 p.m.; Southend, outside Technical Schools, 7.30 p.m.
Saturday, September 3.—Hockley, Hockley House, Garden Meeting, 3.30 p.m.; Wickford, Wickford, 5 p.m.; Westcliff, Leigh Road Schools, 7.30 p.m.
Wednesday, September 7.—Southend, Technical Schools, 7.30 p.m.

SOUTHEAST AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss C. A. L. Marsh, 21, King Street, Southsea.

Miss C. A. L. Marsh has begun a holiday campaign here. Members and sympathisers willing to help are asked to send their names to her at the above address.

Friday, September 2.—Unicorn Gate, Dockyard, 12.30 p.m.; Portsmouth, 7 p.m.
Saturday, September 3.—Southsea, Clarence Pier, 3 p.m.
Monday, September 5.—Havant, 7 p.m.
Tuesday, September 6.—Kingston, near St. Mary's Church, 8 p.m.
Wednesday, September 7.—Pareham, 7 p.m.
Thursday, September 8.—Portsmouth Town Hall (outside), 8 p.m.

YARMOUTH.

Organiser—Miss Grace Roe, 103, Wallasey Road.

Barely a week before Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's visit. On Monday, September 5, advantage will be taken of the Regatta to advertise with a decorated boat. The Misses Bartlett, who have already come all the way from North Walsham to help, have kindly undertaken to carry this out. On Tuesday, September 6, and Thursday, September 8, a decorated trap will tour the town, and handbill distribution will be organised on Wednesday, September 7. Help of every kind is needed. Great interest has been aroused by the speeches of Miss Leonora Tyson in Gorleston and Yarmouth. By kind invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher-Dodd, Miss Tyson addressed a most sympathetic audience at the Socialist Camp, Caister-on-Sea, last Sunday. A good collection was taken, and a lively discussion followed the speech. At the first two meetings over 100 papers were easily disposed of, and more sellers will be welcomed for the meetings announced below. Tickets for the Town Hall Meeting are on sale at John Buckle's, Printer, Theatre Place, at 2s., 1s., 6d., and 3d.

Friday, September 2.—St. Olaves (opposite Railway Station), Miss L. Tyson, 7 p.m.
Saturday, September 3.—Gorleston, Rush Quay, Miss Kath. con Jarvis, 3.30 p.m.; Lowestoft, The Harbour, Miss L. Tyson, 3.30 p.m.; Yarmouth, The Market Place, Miss Kathleen Jarvis, 7.30 p.m.
Sunday, September 4.—Caister-on-Sea, Socialist Camp, Miss K. Jarvis, Miss L. Tyson, 3 p.m.
Monday, September 5.—Yarmouth, Market Place, Miss L. Tyson, 7.30 p.m.
Tuesday, September 6.—Belton, Miss L. Tyson, 7 p.m.
Wednesday, September 7.—Yarmouth, Market Place, Miss L. Tyson, 7.30 p.m.
Thursday, September 8.—Great Yarmouth, Town Hall, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Dredgford, 8 p.m.

THE WOMEN CHAIN-MAKERS' STRIKE.

"The Vote is What we Want."

Starving women and children These words have not a pleasant sound, but a visit to Cradley Heath, where the chain-makers are on strike, has convinced me that they are truly applicable to a number of people living in that place. This small town in the heart of the Black Country, with straggling streets of mean and depressing aspect, has long been the home of one of the worst forms of sweated labour, and during my visit I came upon many painful and pitiful sights.

About 1,000 women are engaged in one particular branch of the chain-making industry, and they work in shops at the back of their houses. These are sheds of the barest description, with unglazed windows and floors covered with cinders, and each usually contains three rude forges where the women heat the iron rods, breaking them into short lengths and welding the ends of the link together by blows from a hammer.* Their hours are from eight in the morning till eight at night; they have to stand the whole time, there is not the sign of a seat anywhere, and

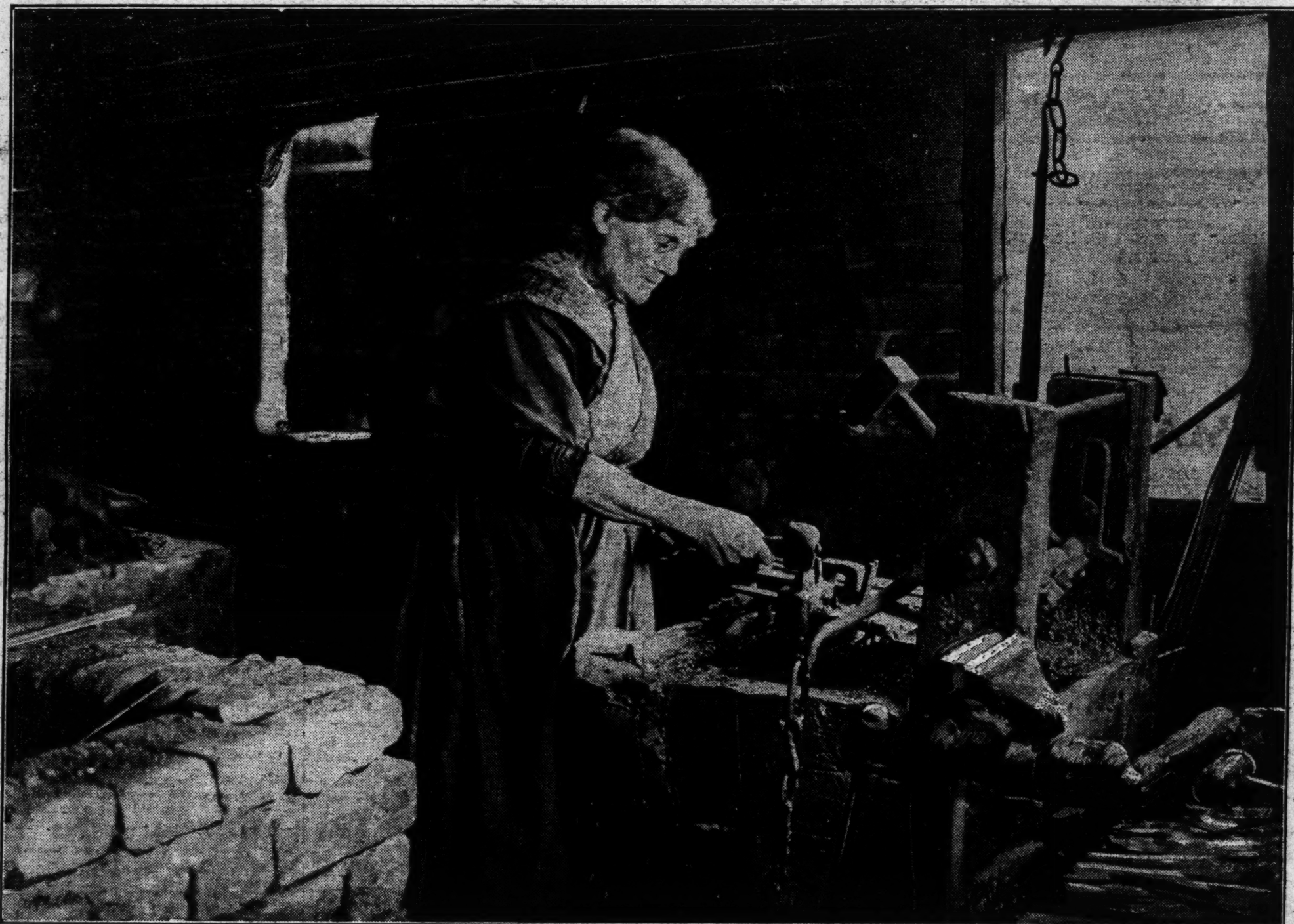
months, at the end of that time, when the new rates apply, there will be no work for them to do, because of the great stock of chains that will have accumulated, and as one woman shrewdly observed, "It is better for us to starve now than to starve in the winter!"

About 500 women are now actually working at the new rates, and some of the employers who have made these concessions were regarded as the worst sweaters; the 500 women who are on strike are struggling to compel the Masters' Association to adopt the higher standard of wages at once, and the Federation of Trades Unions having decided to support their claims, the union workers will receive 5s. a week during the strike. Unfortunately, there are between one and two hundred non-union women, who must be supported if they are to come out with the others, and the National Union of Women Workers, who have opened an office in Cradley, are not allowed by the rules of their union to help these women out of their funds. They have, however, made a public appeal for money on their behalf, and

starvation, they will hold out till they win. A man of life-long experience in the chain-making trade, and with, consequently, an intimate acquaintance with the strikes of men, expressed his surprise at the fortitude and determination of the women; he said "I have never seen anything like it before."

In one place a group of women clustered round me, and though they were in an appalling state of destitution, there was no begging, no whining, only a keen desire for work, so that they might provide food for their children and themselves. When I told them that I was working for Votes for Women a smile went round, and there was the hearty response, "Ay, that is what we want."

I came away from Cradley Heath distressed in mind by the terrible scenes of poverty and privation I had witnessed, and yet, at the same time, inexpressibly cheered by the knowledge that even these down-trodden women were proving strong enough to protect their own interests, and



A CHAIN-MAKER AT WORK.

[Photo, kindly lent by the Anti-Sweating League.]

for this grinding toil they receive not more than 4s. or 5s. a week.

I was told that sometimes the women are so maddened by hunger and privation that they hardly know what they are doing; then they make their chain all wrong and get no money at all for their work. In one instance a young woman was working alone in a crazy wooden shed, like a match-box, and I noticed that she was pale and panting over her work, which she was finishing up before going out on strike; but as a rule the women exhibited wonderful self-control, and I was struck by their sane and intelligent grasp of the situation, which is briefly as follows: After months of consideration as to the rate of wages to be paid to these sweated workers, a Trades Board has decided upon raising the wages to 2½d. per hour, an average increase of 69 per cent., but these new rates will not be compulsorily enforced until the end of a six months' time of grace. The outstanding feature of the situation, however, is that the women are legally entitled to the increased pay at once, unless they sign an agreement that they will take a lower rate. They are being tempted to do this by offers of an increase on the old wage, but they are astute enough to see that if they accept these terms, and work at high pressure during the next six

months, at the end of that time, when the new rates apply, there will be no work for them to do, because of the great stock of chains that will have accumulated, and as one woman shrewdly observed, "It is better for us to starve now than to starve in the winter!"

1. A married woman with seven children: on strike. Her second husband is a bricklayer, out of work. A piece of bread formed her dinner the day I saw her.
2. A young woman forced to work at the old rate to support her three children, as her husband had burnt his foot and was unable to work.
3. An expectant mother, ashen grey in face, and emaciated in form, extremely poor, out on strike.

In these instances (which could be multiplied by hundreds) it is plain that the wolf is very near the door. In one bare home into which I went, a wild-looking man, half naked and covered with grime and sweat, came running in to tell me that though he worked hard from six in the morning till nine at night he could never earn more than 11s. a week, and in such a case the loss of the wife's earnings would be a serious matter. Yet in spite of all the difficulties in their way, these poor, sweated women, bottom dogs in the industrial struggle for existence, are coming bravely out to demand a living wage. The hope of better days to come has nerved them for the fight, and if they are backed up and helped, so that they can ward off sh.a.

to take a way of escape from their miserable lot when it was pointed out to them.

The apathy of sweated women regarding their own condition has always been held to be the stumbling-block in the way of any improvement, but the example of the women chain-makers shows that, given a ray of hope and a sign of encouragement, they are ready to face incredible hardship in order to obtain better conditions of life for themselves and their families.

E. K.

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THE STORY OF OLD JAPAN.

The amazing story of the modern social development of Japan upon lines of advanced Western civilisation, the rapid rise of the Japanese nation to a foremost place amongst the great Powers of the world, has engaged the fascinated attention of all students of sociology and political evolution. And during the present year the Japanese Exhibition has brought the treasures of Japan's art, the symbols of Japan's religion, and the story of Japan's people to the man in the street, and has inspired admiration and interest and the desire for fuller knowledge on the part of the thousands who, unable to respond to the stimulus of imagination, are stirred by the appeal made to the senses, and especially to the sense of sight.

The stir and quickening of interest about this new world, which has all the fascination of dreamland, has led to the publication of some excellent books on the history of Japan, suitable to the needs of busy people who have but scant leisure for research and study.

I have been much fascinated by two of these books, "The Story of Old Japan" and "The Political Development of Japan, 1867-1909." "The Story of Old Japan" begins from the creation of all things, according to the lore gathered from the ancient scriptures of the race, to the accession of the present Emperor and the beginning of the modern era. And the second book tells the story of new Japan, taking up the thread at the very point where the first drops it.

"The Story of Old Japan" is told by Joseph E. Longford, Professor of Japanese, King's College, London, and late Consul at Nagasaki. It is as easy to read as a novel. In fact, the writer tells his story of Japan throughout the long ages of the past, "just as the novelist tells the story of his own heroes and their lives."

Hour after hour of a leisured day goes by, while page after page is turned with absorbed attention in the strange tale. For the author writes with a familiar knowledge of every scene in which his characters are set. In addition to his intimate knowledge of the Japanese language, history, classics and literature, he possesses the first-hand intimate knowledge of the country, gained by thirty-three years of official residence, dating from before the new political era. He has visited or resided in every part of the Empire, so that there is, as he says, "not one historic spot mentioned in the volume on which his feet have not trod once at least and in some cases many times."

The present Emperor of Japan, according to the official list, authenticated by the Government, is the one hundred and twenty-first sovereign in the direct line of descent from the first Emperor Jimmu. The royal dynasty is twenty-five centuries old—as old as the history of Japan. Behind the first Emperor Jimmu, history merges into mythology, which traces his descent to the Sun Goddess, whose grandson descended from heaven to earth and became the founder of the Imperial House.

Nine of this long line of rulers were empresses, and for a period of sixty-three years an empress-regent ruled in the name of her husband. She was a woman of strong character, courage and energy, of unbounded ambition, the greatest heroine of Japanese history, the equal of its greatest heroes, the first to display the glory of the divine land beyond the seas, the first to conquer Korea and exact tribute from the mainland.

One day, says the story, the Emperor was playing on his lute, when the Empress became divinely inspired.

She then charged the Emperor: "There is a land to the westward, and in that land is abundance of various treasures, shining to the eye, from gold and silver downwards. I will go to possess this land upon thee." Then the Emperor replied, saying: "If one ascend to a high place and look westward, no country is to be seen. There is only the great sea, and saying: 'They are lying Deities,' he pushed away his scepter lute. Then the Deities were very angry, and said: 'As for this Empire, it is not a land over which thou oughtest to rule; do thou go to the one land.'"

So the Emperor died. Then the Empress caused knowledge of his death to be suppressed, and his body was buried secretly in the dead of night. And she who had greater faith in the gods, greater ambition, and greater statesmanship than her husband, took command in person of the army and of the fleet. Though she was at this time pregnant, she embarked, and her vessel headed the ships to the shores of the Southern Korea. Astonished at the arrival of this great fleet the Koreans, unable to resist, submitted without striking a single blow, and their King promised perpetual yearly tribute. Laden with spoils of gold, silver, and silk, the fleet returned in triumph to Japan after an absence of less than three months. Then the Empress's child, the heir to his Imperial Father's throne, was born. For hundreds of years afterwards the Koreans faithfully sent annual tribute, and the eastern was destined to exercise great influence in the future development of Japan. "It became the source of a system of civilisation, which lasted thirteen centuries; it was freely quoted as one of the grounds which justified Japan's modern interference in the domestic and foreign affairs of Korea, an interference which was the cause of her wars with both China and Russia."

The Japanese people look back on this invasion with exulting pride, regarding it as a triumph of organisation and valour. But curiously enough the honour of this exploit is given to the son and not to the mother—the son who, unborn, is supposed to have inspired her with the wisdom and generalship that carried out this conquest. And in spite of the fact that throughout his reign he had no opportunity of showing courage or military capacity, he was deified as the God of War; and it is to him that

"The Story of Old Japan." By Joseph E. Longford. (Chapman and Hall, Ltd. Price 6s. net.)

"The Political Development of Japan, 1867-1909." By G. M. Uyehara, D.Sc. (Constable. 2s. 6d. net.)

soldiers still pray when they are about to proceed on active warfare.

Illustrations of woman's courage and fortitude are numerous. An interesting story is incidentally told of a military general defeated and besieged in his entrenchments by a rebel horde. His soldiers, vanquished and dispirited, deserted, and their general was on the point of following the example, and was actually climbing the stockade at night to effect his escape, when his wife interfered.

She taunted him with the disgrace that he was about to bring upon a family of soldiers; then she took his sword herself, gathered all the women in the camp around her, and made them all vigorously twang the bow-strings, so the barbarians thought there was still an army behind the defences, and did not press the attack. The general, whom his wife had restored not only by her example but with draughts of wine, took heart again, got some of his lurking soldiers together and turned defeat into victory.

History records only the name of the successful general, and leaves both name and parentage of the heroic wife unnoticed. Herein may be recognised that touch of nature which makes the world of East and West akin.

E. P. L.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"A Modern Outlook." By F. A. Hobson. London: Herbert & Daniel. 5s. net.

"Twentieth Century Magazine," August. Boston: Twentieth Century Co. 25 cents.

"The Englishwoman," September. Sidgwick & Jackson, Ltd. 1s. net.

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The object of the Society is to meet the serious and growing difficulty of domestic service by enabling householders, although living quite separately in their houses, to save much household drudgery and cooking, and the expense and trouble of servants (if they so desire), by getting such meals as they require at the Central Hall at tables reserved for them; also, to have daily or hourly domestic service provided in the houses, as required, from the staff of maids to be kept at the Central Hall. Children can be left in charge of a matron in the Nursery at the Central Hall, to enable ladies to go out for shopping, etc.

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The Secretary, Mrs. ALICE MELVIN, 63, Princes Avenue, Church End, Finchley, will be pleased to give further particulars and to answer any questions relative to the scheme, or see prospective members by appointment.

A Meeting of Members and others interested in the scheme will be held on the Estate, Brent Lodge, Nether-street, Finchley, on Saturday, September 3, 1910. Chair will be taken at 3 o'clock. Admission by ticket only, to be obtained of the Secretary. Nearest Station, Finchley (Church End), G.N.R., or Golders Green Tube, thence by Electric Car to Long-lane, thence through Love Walk to Brent Lodge.

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FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1910.

THE UNHEARD SIDE.

There are two poets who have entered into the very heart of woman and have given expression to the age-long silence of her soul. The first is Euripides, and the second is William Sharp in his literary manifestation as Fiona Macleod. Both these men felt the burden upon them of the conscious and the unconscious wrong done by men to women since the beginning of time.

What would "a mere man" think of the Medea of Euripides, supposing that he could be persuaded to read the play through to the end? What would he think of "The Rune of Mary the Mother," that poem by Fiona Macleod unique in the whole literature of our language?

If he understood them at all, the effect would be startling—as startling as the effect produced in Balaam when the ass beneath him opened her mouth and spake. Balaam was pre-occupied with his own point of view. It had never occurred to him that there was another way of looking at things entirely divergent from his own, least of all that it could be conceived and expressed by the dumb animal who carried his bit in her mouth and his bridle upon her neck.

"Why hast thou smitten me these three times?" Imagine the gaping wonder with which the prophet heard this strange protest! Surely it was he who had a right to be annoyed, not this creature who had suddenly found a human voice wherewith to make known her grievance. Alas for man, who has the whip and whose

bit is in woman's mouth, for though he holds the reins he cannot drive, neither can he see the angel that is standing in the way. Alas, too, for woman who is driven.

That story of Medea. It is recalled to memory by the cartoon in our issue last week, and the words that stand beneath it—a fragment of the greatest speech ever yet put into the mouth of a woman on behalf of women.

"And then, forsooth, 'tis they that face the call
Of war, while we sit sheltered, hid from all
Peril!—False mockery! Sooner would I stand
Three times to face their battles, shield in hand,
Than bear one child."

Women could not fight. From the days of ancient Greece till now this is the stock argument used against the equal humanity of men and women, against their mutual obligation, against their common right. This was Jason's point of view. It was not Medea's—Medea, who had saved her lover's life and brought him triumphantly through peril direr than war; Medea, the mother of his sons. Between the man and the woman a great gulf was fixed, for Jason had never sought to comprehend the mind of Medea, never dreamt of the forces that slept in the soul of the woman whom he had lightly made his own. And so the tragedy drew on inevitably that was to cover their lives in irretrievable ruin.

It is this misunderstanding of the woman's point of view in the guidance of the body politic—say rather it is this oblivion on the part of men politicians that women have any point of view of their own to be expressed—that is responsible for many of the deep social tragedies whose evidences we see around us. Men are startled when they are told that the laws of the State are unjust to women. And yet the newspapers are full of evidence of it. An inquest was held a few days ago upon the body of a newly-born infant. The mother was a little girl of fifteen, a domestic servant. She had made no preparation, for she had never had the smallest suspicion of her condition; she was alone when the child was born, and it fell to the floor, fracturing its skull. The name of the man who had seduced her was elicited in court, but was suppressed in the newspaper reports. The child-mother narrowly escaped being sent for trial, but the coroner was of the opinion that there was not sufficient evidence to convict. He referred to the man who had taken advantage of her childish ignorance. The law, he said, would not permit him to be touched. The time had expired in which he might have been proceeded against under the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

Men talk of chivalry. The law knows no chivalry. The laws that men have made make it easy to a man to escape the consequences of wrong done to a woman, and they lay the weight of the great burden of responsibility for the results of sin upon the shoulders of the wronged. The men who make these laws do not mean to work injustice. They know the temptations of the man, and they make allowance for it; they realise the possible injustice that may accrue in individual cases, and they guard the law at all points so as to secure to the man protection. They do not realise the position of the woman. And the laws which govern both sexes will never be equal or just until both sexes share in making and administering them.

In Leicester last week a widow over 70 years of age applied for her old-age pension. For sixty years she had lived in the town. It transpired that in early life she had married a German, who, though a resident, died without taking out naturalisation papers. So the old woman who had worked hard all her life was refused the pension. Man-made law regards the widow merely as a relic of her husband. Thus it never occurred to the framers of the Old-Age Pensions Act that an Englishwoman might serve her country for 70 years and by no fault of her own, but by an absurd accident of the law, might be made to forfeit her pension, and be driven to die in the workhouse. Such anomalies and contingencies in law are provided for where men are concerned, because they are foreseen and realised by the representatives of men, but there is no voice in the councils of the nation to represent the interests of women, and to foresee on their behalf these cruel and absurd anomalies from which they suffer.

"Women have no political grievances!" The politicians who say this are, many of them, sincere. It did not occur to Balaam that his ass would consider it a grievance that he should smite her three times. It never will occur to the politician that women have any political grievances till they have obtained the voice wherewith to express them.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

"DARE WE WAIT?"

By Lady Constance Lytton.

SUFFRAGIST: I agree with you that women should have the vote. It is unjust that they should not, and I think they will use it well when they get it. But there is no haste. The longer they wait the more worthily will they use it when it comes.

SUFFRAGETTE: In your opinion it would not matter if women have to wait another 10 or 15 years?

SUFFRAGIST: No; or even 50.

The above conversation, in which I took part a few weeks ago, is an exaggerated specimen of its kind, but we have almost daily to combat in some lesser form that wolf of indifference masquerading as a lamb of patience. This state of mind is mostly caused by ignorance—or, rather, by a consciousness still unawakened to the meaning of facts which are common knowledge. Some axioms essential to the franchise question are so simple and obvious that any child, one would think, could grasp them; yet we must continually state and illustrate them afresh, for, however much accepted in theory, until a Woman Suffrage Bill becomes law their truth is denied in practice by the Government of the day and by every candidate and voter who helps to maintain that Government in office. There are three such axioms of leading importance. (a) The vote gives power to those who have it. (b) Women as well as men are human beings. (c) Men and women have separate and different as well as similar and common interests and faculties.

A—The Vote gives Power.

There is no one fact more persistently questioned by our opponents, and even sometimes by our so-called friends than this, that the vote has power to redress grievances and to affect wages. It is strangely argued that because it does not redress all grievances and because some have been redressed without it, therefore the vote is superfluous and of no value. Agitation, it is true, if sufficiently widespread, produces something of the same effect as enfranchisement. This has been apparent in the recent public awakening to the existence of women in national life. But legislators are slow to be affected by such unweaponed pressure, and the cost as to energy, self-sacrifice, time, and money entailed in agitation make it a harmfully wasteful form of power compared to the franchise. It seems strange to have to defend, when it concerns women, the importance of the vote—a political dogma which for so long has infected the mind of the British nation when men are under consideration. Parliament sits through a great part of every year, and in every week of the session this truism is practically exemplified in the debates, whether during the process of shaping new laws or during the discussions on "Supply." It is then that Ministers responsible to the various offices of State have to render account of their stewardship and, in return for the money voted, have to make concessions to the complaints and requests of the male tax-payers as brought forward by their representatives. Mr. Herbert Samuel's speech on the Post Office Estimates (June 23, 1910) is an illustration in point, as the following extracts show:—"The total sum to which I shall have this year to ask the sanction of the House of Commons very nearly touches the figure of £20,000,000." (We must remember that women as well as men are taxed for this purpose.) "... I think it is impossible to expect in a vast service such as the Post Office, which has in its employment over 200,000 men and women... that there will be no grievances, and no legitimate grievances." He refers to a new method for investigating these grievances by means of direct conference with the employees. This, he adds "has, I trust, relieved members of Parliament of many difficult cases to which otherwise their attention would have been drawn by their constituents." Then, as to wages:—"With respect to the workpeople employed by contractors, the new Fair Wages Clause sanctioned by the House of Commons is, of course, being inserted in all new contracts with the Post Office. We have an inspector continually at work. . . . He insists upon the most rigid observance of the fair wages conditions." He tells further of a Departmental Committee "to investigate with officers of my staff the whole of the conditions of production in the Post Office factories, with the view to their being placed on a more satisfactory footing." After giving details of new methods suggested with regard to boy and girl labour in the postal service, he comments: "We of this generation have the duty cast upon us of coping as best we can with the social evils affecting our body politic and of providing as best we can cures for them. But we have cast upon us also the still higher duty of saving, if we can, the next generation from being faced by those social evils at all. . . . I have long felt that it is among the children that lies the best hope of social reform." Among the children! But these reformers are not responsible to women, and the advice of women must not be allowed to interfere with the all-wisdom of a male electorate! In the debate which followed the power of the vote was even more fully exemplified. Of the eighteen members who spoke thirteen brought forward thirty-five specific grievances of male employees in the service, to plead for their redress, or in some cases to express satisfaction that previous pleadings had been attended to. Of these grievances no less than eighteen concerned the fixing of wages. Nine of the speakers mentioned their

constituencies and the pressure put upon them by their electors. Several requests were made for deputations to be received and thanks offered for the good results of previous deputations.

What About Women?

For the most part throughout the debate the requests were of a kind that only concerned men, men's wages, men's hours of work, men's grievances; not one single member pleaded for women. Can it be due only to an accumulation of coincidences that no section of women and no individual woman, among the thousands employed in the postal service, were found to have any grievances needing redress, any wages unsatisfactorily low or requiring adjustment between one set of workers and another? Can it be that no harsh dismissals, no sweated terms of pay under contractors are known to women workers? Among telephone clerks—only women, I believe, are employed in this department under Government service—are there none of the "legitimate grievances" such as the Postmaster-General himself pointed out were bound to arise, none of the "inordinate amount of grievances" which Lord Ronaldshay noted amongst his male constituents? The Postmaster-General alluded to an official inquiry with regard to the health of young operators in the telephone exchanges. He remarked, "There have lately been sensational statements in the Press as to the effect upon their physique of the employment in which they are engaged." He declares these statements to be "grossly exaggerated," and adds, "But the truth remains that the work of the telephone operator is of a character that does impose a certain strain upon the nervous organisation." It is consoling to hear of this official inquiry, and that it was "conducted by the second medical officer of the Post Office and the principal female medical officer. . . . In their report they make a number of suggestions for improvements in the allocation of hours, the intervals for meals and rest, and they express the hope that some improvements may be devised in the instruments they use, and so forth. I have given instructions that the recommendations in this report shall be regarded as matters of urgency." So far so good, from the point of view of the Department. But does not this suggest that women employees also have their grievances, and had the alleged "sensational statements" been made with regard to male employees would not the hon. members have shown some inclination to question whether perhaps these statements were not so "grossly exaggerated" as the official report asserted? Only one member made reference to this report, and asked if it might be circulated. But the women employees were not entirely forgotten. Two members made allusion to them. I quote the passages in full, since they are characteristic of the chivalrous spirit towards women known to be prominent among the representatives of a solely male electorate. Dr. Addison, in pleading for the postal porters in the London area that their standard of wage should be raised, said:—"I would like to point out that these men have to live in the Central London area, and 30s. per week is the most they can ever hope to receive. The lady telephonists, for instance, have as a maximum—and they are unmarried—28s. per week. These men are mostly the fathers of families, with considerable responsibilities resting upon them, and I think they have certainly a very great claim." The education, technical training, and skill required of a telephonist must be of considerably higher grade than is exacted of a postal porter; the work, moreover, we have been shown, entails risk of nervous disease. The maximum wage of these women telephonists is said to be 2s. per week less than that of the comparatively unskilled porter, yet the grievance is to be on his side! We are presented, as usual, with the argument for wage differentiation between men and women that the men are "mostly fathers of families." If wages are to be given to scale with the number of individuals dependent on the worker it is not women who will object. But the difficulties of adjustment will surely be great, and at present there is no attempt in that direction. The bachelor male, supporting none but himself, gets no less than his companion with a family; the woman supporting many besides herself gets not so much as this bachelor male. There is scarcely a woman upon the labour market but keeps parents, brothers or sisters, or children, besides herself. The second member who alluded to women has an even stronger grievance against them. Lord Ronaldshay pleads against wage inequalities in different localities. "Telegraphists in the Central Office have attained to a maximum of 65s. per week, whereas telegraphists in the London district can only attain to a maximum of 62s. . . . The man who is performing in one part of the City precisely the same duties as a man in another part of the City can attain a maximum of 3s. per week more. In connection with that point I should like to say that the women in that case receive equal treatment both in the Central Office and in the London district, and that appears to be a source of particularly irritating annoyance to the men, and also, if I may say so, seems to be a refutation of the argument of most people who are in favour of Women's Suffrage, that women are unable to get justice or equality with man without having the vote. In this case they seem to have succeeded a great deal better than the men in securing equal treatment." In

the official estimates which I have been able to obtain there is no record of wages in the Central Office, but for the London districts the figures given are:—For telegraphists (males), maximum 62s.; for ditto (females), maximum 40s. Would the hon. member for Hornsey be satisfied if, for the sake of the uniform rate between localities which the alteration would achieve, the male clerks were to exchange rate of wage with the female clerks of the same occupation? No doubt any women telegraph clerks resident in his constituency would be prepared to endorse the suggestion. Or would they prefer to wait—say for fifty years?

B—Women as well as Men are Human.

Whatever their peculiarities as a sex, women are participants with men in the conditions common to humanity. In order to live they must eat. In order to eat they must produce. In order to produce they must work, or pay by money or service for others to work for them. As regards their terms of service, their payment, their conditions of work, their freedom to develop and produce, their need for food, their well-being, their moral needs, women require—even as men do—security for self-expression, self-government, and self-defence, in individual life, in home life, in municipal life, in national life, in international life. All these freedoms and securities are symbolised for the British-born by the vote. Not only at home in the old country, but wherever in the four corners of the earth her children have chosen to group themselves into states, government by representation—that system of national breathing, one might call it—is the one they invariably adopt as of natural instinct. Yet when women assume belief in this symbol they are referred back to the arguments of the days of King John. It seems difficult for some politicians, no matter how democratic their protestations, to look at the women's cause from any but the most reactionary point of view. Translation of the situation into other than political terms seems the only way to bring home to them the injustice, the ill-balance, the ugly and harmful one-sidedness entailed in their repression of the women's demand. The vote is the means of political ventilation: let us exemplify the case by one of physical ventilation. A community of men inhabit a common building. One-half of them enjoy a system of ventilation; the other half in another part of the building have none. They appeal for redress of this grievance. Those in power in the ventilated building say:

"We agree with you that ventilation is a good thing; we even agree that you should have your share of it. But our own system has defects, and it would be unreasonable to instal a system of ventilation for you which duplicated those defects. A perfect system is not yet adopted by ourselves; indeed, we are not in agreement as to what it should be, some preferring the A1 system of prime excellence, others the X.Y.Z. of complete desideratum. When we have decided which it is to be and adopted it for ourselves, then we will extend it to you. Or, rather, when we have perfect ventilation and by means of it have acquired other benefits of which we are in much need, then, but not till then, we will consider the granting of this same ideal system to you." Those in the unventilated building make reply: "Amongst us, as amongst you, there is division as to whether the A1 or the X.Y.Z. system is the best, but we are unanimous in thinking that no ventilation whatsoever is no longer sufferable. Give us the system which you now employ and we will work together with you for its betterment. If you with considerable ventilation still feel the need for more, for its better adjustment, and for other benefits only to be acquired by means of it, remember how dire is the state of need to us who have none." Whereupon the more privileged answer: "Ah! but we so regard your welfare, we will give you none but the best. Wait patiently until we have found that. We have sympathised with you in your sufferings owing to total exclusion, but this sympathy pales before that which we feel for ourselves over the inadequacy of ventilation that still remains in our building, and which would still be yours were we to extend our present benefits to you." Shall they wait fifty years with sympathy and good advice as substitutes for ventilation?

C—Men and Women have separate and different as well as common and similar interests and faculties.

Except in the one respect of withholding the franchise from women, suffragists (both men and women) do not sit in judgment upon the male portion of the race. As to the refusal by men to extend the franchise to women, we agree with Mr. Lloyd George that "there is nothing to exceed the stupidity of such a position except its arrogance." But in all else the evils of solely male governance are inevitable, mostly unconscious and guileless. Men as well as women have to contribute to the heavy toll exacted as a consequence; and, once awakened to the resultant harm, women must share with men the responsibility of their continued exclusion from citizenship.

In no way has the anti-suffrage agitation done better service than by accentuating the very obvious facts that the spheres of men and women are in some respects different, that these are defined by Nature, and that women are the prime guardians of infant life and of the home. Here are a few instances of the male point of view in matters more especially belonging to the woman's sphere. The other day, when overcrowding and the high rate of infant mortality were subjects of conversation, I heard a man—a famous scientist—remark: "Warmth is the first requirement; check overcrowding and you remove the only means of warmth available to the destitute. The high death-rate amongst

them is as it should be; it eliminates the unfit." Statisticians show that about one-quarter of all those who die are infants of but a few months old. Along with this abnormally high death-rate we have the twin calamity of high infantile deterioration-rate, for, as the recent report on the Poor-law tells us, "while thousands perish outright, hundreds of thousands who worry through are injured in the hard struggle for existence and grow up weaklings, physical and mental degenerates." King Khama, the African monarch, is said to have remarked, when visiting this country, "You English take great care of your goods, but you throw away your children." A friend of mine, in her hour of maternal combat, strove at great personal risk to safeguard the life of her expected child; her husband, a good and enlightened man, exclaimed, in his most natural distress, "So long as her life is saved, what do I care about the baby?" A woman who came from London to our village told me this tale:—She had recently inhabited a very poor quarter of the East End. Opposite to her lived a drunken man, with his wife and children, one of them newly-born. Almost every night the man would come home in a drunken fit and beat his wife until she rushed out into the street with her baby in her arms. The policeman on the beat, solely concerned for the quiet of the street, if he passed at these times, would drive her back into the house. My friend at last could endure these scenes no longer. She said to the woman, "Come with me to the magistrate. He will give you a separation order; your life is not safe, nor that of your baby." They went together. The magistrate informed the woman that unless she went to the workhouse and gave herself up as a pauper she could not claim a penny of maintenance from her husband for herself or her children. They accordingly went on to the Union. They found it full, and the mother, who was still young and able-bodied, was told that she must see to her own maintenance. Weighted with young children and destitute of all means, she had to return to be the defenceless and tortured breeding-machine of her drunken companion. This story is typical of a thousand others. The anti-suffragists say "the man has the greater physical strength, therefore he alone must be endowed with civic power." The "patient" Suffragists say, "Oh! yes, women should have it, too, but they can wait another forty or fifty years." Others again say, "How would the vote, how could legislation help such a case?" Can it be thought that an electorate of women would have nothing to suggest as to the conditions of the liquor traffic which train the working-class to lean on the disabling crutch of alcohol as a supposed friend to their labours; as to the neglect of social needs which leaves the drink-shop as the only cheap and convenient place wherein to satiate the joy-hunger inherent in humanity? To the law which offers no other refuge to such women than the workhouse, and which can extend to them no support under a roof of their own? To the economic side of the marriage laws which can give no security to women against this appalling frequent fate?

It is not for any individual woman, or for any arbitrarily selected group of women, to offer solutions. But the whole-sale exclusion of all and any women from the recognised means of automatically recording their needs is surely imbecile and race-suicidal. Leave human conditions to "Nature" if you will, but if national life is organised by means of law, and if that law is formed and moulded through a representative system, then let women as well as men be represented, and let us cease trying to exist according to the pulsation of only one-half of the race.

Within a week of the conversation which I have taken as my text, I had this one in another quarter. Suffragette: "And what did you and your daughter think of the meeting?" Suffragist: "The speeches were very good, but I was so impressed with a remark made by my daughter, 'Mother, they talk as if women had grievances against men. I think they have nothing of the kind.' Was it not beautiful and touching? You see she has led such an absolutely sheltered and happy life." Suffragette: "Would you think it beautiful and touching if your daughter, after hearing of people who were starving, ill, and uncared for, contentedly said, 'Mother, they are wrong. I think none of these miseries exist, because she had not known them in her own life?'" This mother and her daughter were women in all ways typical of those who rear and educate the leisured ruling class; both of them are good, dutiful, and rigidly trained to the required standard of "womanliness." Yes, and they are normal, kindly, womanly women, though the above remarks would lead one to suppose that they were in great measure "unsexed," and had forfeited their claim to rank as the mother-half of the race. So grievously have even the best women been moulded to respond to the impress of a harmful tradition! While listening to this mother that other conversation echoed through my brain, "Why not wait—even fifty years?"

Lord Cromer and the Subjection of Women.

Lord Cromer's comments on the education of Eastern women have recently been quoted in these columns. Another passage from his "Modern Egypt" seems a fitting reply to the why-not-wait argument: "The reasons why Islam as a social system has been a complete failure are manifold. . . . First and foremost Islam keeps women in a position of marked inferiority. . . . It cannot be doubted that the seclusion of women exercises a baneful effect on Eastern society. The arguments on this subject are indeed so common-place that it is unnecessary to dwell on them. It will be sufficient to say that seclusion, by confining the sphere of woman's interest to a very limited horizon, cramps the intellect and withers the mental development of one-half of the population in Moslem countries. . . . Moreover, inasmuch as women, in their capacities of wives and mothers, exercise a great influence over the characters of their husbands and sons, it is obvious that the seclusion of women must produce a deteriorating effect on the male population,

in whose presumed interest the custom was originally established and is still maintained." This from an anti-woman suffragist about a social system which can boast of a Married Woman's Property Act much older than our own! Anti-suffragists, when not thinking of their own mothers, wives, and daughters, have much wisdom to impart on the subject of women. But, it will be argued, there is no "seclusion" of women in England. Not, it is true, of the same kind as in Moslem countries, but obituary notices of any modern English woman who has ventured forth into regions from which previously women were "secluded" will prove how narrow still are the liberties allowed. Florence Nightingale is an instance recently in our minds. Her contemporary, Harriet Martineau, wrote of her first public work in connection with the Home for Sick Ladies in Harley Street: "Had she forged a bill, or eloped, or betted her father's fortune away at Newmarket, she could not have provoked a more virulent hue and cry than she did by settling herself to a useful work, in a quiet way, in mature age, and without either seeking or deprecating the world's opinion." That pioneer woman unlocked the power for good which now displays itself in average ordinary women in the nursing service throughout the world. Florence Nightingale, we are reminded, obtained her all but miraculous achievements without the vote. Yes, but how exceptional were the powers of her individuality that secured to her the training and the call to public service which should have been easily within her reach. On looking back on the triumph of that "advanced" woman, what did she steal from men? Have her deeds repressed those of a Father Damien? Has the male half of the population been the worse, or women lost their womanliness because of her services and those of the women whose nursing powers she has released? Who has been deprived because of their usurpation? But their triumph, great and benign though it is, has achieved victory only in its own department. The stigma is not yet lifted from women in other spheres. What is still said to-day of those who claim the Parliamentary vote, that key to all branches of self-development? Those who go forward to meet the repression which obstructs their path—are they not labelled "hooligans," "howling Derivishes," "unsexed and unnatural" women? Are they not restrained, "secluded," imprisoned, and considered outcast, as much as any pioneers of an earlier day, or of more primitive civilisations? Discontent, it is said—and truly said—is now rife among women. But discontent, as Emerson has well defined it, is want of self-reliance; it is infirmity of will. Shall women, recognised guardians of the race, boast any longer that they are shut-eye sentinels? Can they be conscience-free in waiting for another fifty, ten, or five years for men to say to them, "Come and help us"? Better let us say, now and without delay, "The price of our inaction is too great; we will neglect our duty to the nation's welfare no longer. Whatever the repression that yet may meet us, we shall count it nothing compared to the bondage of continued connivance at evils which it should be our part to overcome."

REPORTS FROM ORGANISERS.

General Offices: W.S.P.U. 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Splendid reports continue to reach the office from all over the country, and although the holidays are still in full swing, workers are actively engaged in furthering the cause in every possible way. You who have as yet done nothing, remember the present is a critical time, and join those who are doing so much. The Bill must be passed!

ACTON AND EALING.

Organiser—Miss M. Egall, 41, Goldsmith Avenue.

BATTERSEA AND CLAPHAM.

Hon. Sec. (pro tem)—Miss Mayne, 42, Cambridge Mansions.

The meeting in Battersea Park will be held next Sunday afternoon at 3.30 p.m. instead of 6 p.m.

BOWES PARK.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Nash, 41, Goring Road.

CAMBERWELL AND PECKHAM.

Office—41, Church Street, Camberwell.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Bedford, 24, Barry Road, East Dulwich.

Sec. (pro tem)—Mrs. F. Moulford.

CHelsea AND KENSAL TOWN.

Shop and Office—10, King's Road.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Hale and Miss Barry.

CHISWICK.

Shop—201, High Road.

Hon. Sec.—Miss C. N. A. Coulson, 25, Sutton Court Road.

CLAPHAM.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Moore, 21, Cavendish Gardens, Clapham Park.

CROYDON.

Office—1, Station Buildings, West Croydon.

Tel. 604 Croydon (Rat.). Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Cameron-Swan, 7, Mayfield Road, Banderstead, Surrey.

The demonstration on Duppre Hill, October 5, 3 to 7 p.m., is the next great event. A new Procession poster is in the press. Miss I. Green has discovered a profitable use for used pictorial postcards, and will be glad of as many as possible.

FOREST GATE.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Y. H. Friedlander, 125, Eastham Green.

GREENWICH AND DEPTFORD.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Biffin, 20, 2, Oakley Road, Deptford.

HACKNEY.

Organiser—Miss Helen Grogan, 4, Clements Inn, Hackney.

HAMMERSMITH.

Shop and Office—104, Hammersmith Road.

Organising Sec.—Mrs. E. L. Butler.

HAMPSTEAD.

Shop and Office—30, Heath Street.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. A. B. Wren, 11, Gainsborough Road, Hampstead Heath, N.W.

HENDON.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Noble, Derby Lodge, Hendon.

ILFORD.

Hon. Sec.—Miss E. C. Haslam, 23, Cranbrook Road.

A very good meeting was held at Chadwell Heath, and Mrs. Bouvier spoke on Saturday at Ilford to large and deeply interested crowds. More paper sellers are needed for Saturday meetings.

ISLINGTON.

Hon. Sec. (pro tem)—Miss Gould, 11, Lamb's Conduit Street, W.C.

Members, do your best during the absence of the secretary to keep the flag flying! Volunteers are especially needed for paper-selling. Miss Hopkins addressed a very attentive audience at Fackington Street on Wednesday.

KENSINGTON.

Shop and Office—113, Church Street, Kensington, W.

Tel. 2123 Woburn. Joint Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Nelson, 4, Woburn Avenue, Woburn, and Miss Morrison, R.A.

LAMBETH.

Organising Sec.—Miss Leonora Tyson, 22, Draystead Road, Morden, S.W.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Barrell, 22, Acacia Grove, Dulwich.

LEWISHAM.

Shop and Office—127, High Street, Lewisham.

Shoppers 2.15 to 4.15 p.m. Thursdays 11 a.m. to 11.30 p.m.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Bourrier, 22, Mount Pleasant Road.

New interest and action are added to meetings by the presence of Anti-Sunday meetings at 11.15 p.m.

LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK.

September 2.

Brookwood Road, The Broomfield.

Croydon, Katharine Street.

Wimbledon, 6, Victoria Crescent.

Broadway.

Crouch Road, Clock Tower.

Harlesham, Manor Park Road.

Ilford, Oakfield Road.

Kilburn, Victoria Road.

Levensham, 167, High Street.

Peckham, 167, High Street.

Reigate, 167, High Street.

Richmond, 167, High Street.

Stratford, 167, High Street.

Wimbledon, 167, High Street.

Wimbledon, 167, High Street.

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will henceforth be held at 3.30 p.m. instead of 6 p.m.

Thanks to members and friends for all kinds of help.

Members and friends rally every Wednesday and Saturday afternoon at the shop. First committee meeting after holidays, Saturday, September 3, at 3.30 p.m., at the shop. More parcels for the Jubilee Sale will be most welcome.

NORTH ISLINGTON (LATE HORNSEY).

Hon. Sec.—Miss Clara Brown, 11, Gladsmuir Road, Highgate, and Miss Jackson, 46, Langdon Park Road, Highgate.

Now that the holidays are over work with renewed vigour is the order of the day. Helpers will be cordially welcomed at the open-air meetings, which commenced on the 1st, at St. Thomas's Road. For further meetings see "Forthcoming Meetings." It is with deep regret that we announce the death of Miss Marjorie Reilly, on August 21, after only three days' illness. She was one of the youngest and most enthusiastic workers, and will be sorely missed.

N.W. LONDON.

Shop and Office—211, High Road, Kilburn, Tel. 1123.

Hampstead, Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Fens Gabbell, 12, Piccadilly, Wiltshire.

The Shop is re-opened after the summer recess, and members are invited to make up for lost time by making purchases. They will find many novel features. It is hoped that there will be a good rally of members for the sale of the paper on Sunday (see "Forthcoming Meetings").

PADDINGTON AND MARYLEBONE.

Hon. Sec.—Hon. Mrs. Mansfield, 25, Great Street, W.

PUTNEY AND FULHAM.

Shop—205, Fulham Road.

Hon. Secs.—Miss Gutter, 27, Parsons's Green, E.W., and Mrs. H. Roberts.

Open-air meetings recommence early in September. The shop has been open every day throughout August.

RICHMOND AND Kew.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Clayton, Glangariff, New Road, Richmond.

STREATHAM.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Tyson, 27, Dromedary Road, Streatham.

SYDENHAM AND FOREST HILL.

Hon. Sec.—Miss A. M. Pollard, Marshwood, 4, Burg Hill Road, Sydenham.

WIMBLEDON.

Shop: 6, Victoria Crescent, Broadway, Tel. 1928.

P.O. Wimbledon.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Loughnan, 27, Martin Hall Road.

With the return of members from holidays it is hoped plentiful relief will be forthcoming for those who have borne the brunt of August stewarding. Special thanks to Mrs. Montgomery Martin, Mrs. Kitchin, Mrs. Fraser, Miss Nuttall, Mrs. Heard, and Mrs. Henry, who have taken duty at considerable inconvenience rather than close the shop for a single hour throughout the holidays. Their loyal efforts have been amply rewarded. Takings have not fallen below the average, and many new customers have been attracted by the prettily-dressed windows. Plans are being made for a vigorous autumn campaign, and members are asked to volunteer Friday At Homes will recommence on October 7, and volunteers are needed. Sunday meetings will in future be held at 3 p.m. and not at 6 p.m. Tea rally every Friday at 4 p.m. Friends welcome. Ladies: "Here to Think," "M," and "Votes—Women" may be had free by local members for distribution. The *Wimble-on Star* has published an article by Mrs. Lamartine Yates in reply to the defence of Mr. Lloyd George officially communicated by the People's Suffrage Federation.

Home Counties.

SOUTHENDON.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Geraldine Lewis, 321, Old Christchurch Road, Lansdowne, Southend-on-Sea.

Meets: 11-1 and 2.30-3.

BRIGHTON, HOVE AND DISTRICT.

Office—4, North Street, Quadrant.

Tel. 424 (Rat.). Organiser—Mrs. Clarke.

Excellent meetings have been held, and new numbers up. Before Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's Bazaar is held on September 23 and 24, donors on September 23 (for which help is wanted) Mrs. Clarke will hold a series of open-air meetings. Participants of a Hastings workers' meeting may be had from Mrs. Dorset Jackson, 1, St. Paul's Place, St. Leonards.

(Continued on page 794.)

Thursday, November 10, Royal Albert Hall Meeting.

WOMEN OF ENGLAND

Show the confidence you have in your Sex by opening a
CURRENT, DEPOSIT, OR THRIFT ACCOUNT

at the First and Only Bank for Women in the United Kingdom which is entirely managed by women.

FARROW'S BANK FOR WOMEN

THE BANK'S FEATURES.

The work of the Bank is conducted on precisely similar lines to that of its "parent," FARROW'S BANK, Ltd., The People's Bank, 1, CHEAPSIDE, LONDON, E.C.

CURRENT ACCOUNTS may be opened from £5 and upwards, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Interest is allowed on Credit Balances.

POPULAR DEPOSIT NOTES from £1 to £1,000 are issued bearing interest from 3 to 5 per cent.

CHILDREN'S ENDOWMENT NOTES are issued for periods ranging from 5 to 21 years.

There are innumerable advantages to be obtained by customers of "Farrow's Bank for Women," particulars of which are given in an illustrated brochure to be obtained from the Manager—

Farrow's Bank for Women,

**29, NEW BRIDGE STREET,
LUDGATE CIRCUS, LONDON, E.C.**

FARROW'S BANK, Ltd.,
has branches, sub-branches and
agencies throughout the Kingdom.



2d. weekly to cover the expenses of lighting, etc. Will ladies willing to lend their drawing-rooms for meetings kindly send in their names to Miss Wylie as soon as possible? She returns to Glasgow on the 5th, and hopes all friends will come to the shop to help in canvassing, paper-selling, speaking, etc. Mrs. White's home-made jam finds a ready sale. Miss Fraser Smith's cycling campaign has borne very good results. Two strong hints, these!

MRS. PANKHURST IN THE HIGHLANDS.

The first meeting of Mrs. Pankhurst's Highland tour in Bridge of Allan, Stirlingshire, on Monday, August 29, proved in every way a great success. Miss Ure, the Stirling local secretary, organised the meeting, and Mrs. Pullar, of Coneyhill House, took the chair. The Museum Hall, the largest of Allan affords, was crowded to the doors, many people standing the whole time. A large number of working-men, many of them pronounced radicals, were present, and followed every word of Mrs. Pankhurst's speech with the keenest attention, bearing her criticisms of their political idols. Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, with commendable fortitude. Mrs. Pankhurst spoke for nearly an hour, carrying her audience with her as she explained the present legal disabilities of women and their helplessness under the new land taxes so lately thrust upon them, and then proceeded to give a lucid analysis of the Conciliation Bill which would give women the power they need. Mrs. Pullar appealed for new members, and warmly recommended VOTES FOR WOMEN to her audience as a cleverly-written and interesting paper. Answering the hardly pertinent question as to women becoming members of Parliament if they had votes, Mrs. Pankhurst remarked that it would have to be a very remarkable woman to begin with, when a sturdy workman from a back bench shouted "Ye'd dae fine yerse, Mistress!" to the great amusement of the audience and Mrs. Pankhurst herself. The meeting closed with an enthusiastic vote of thanks to Mrs. Pankhurst, moved by the Rev. Robert Primrose, an ardent supporter of the cause. The local organisation desires to thank most warmly the local ladies who so kindly stewarded, and Mrs. Pullar, Miss Fleming, Miss Curran, Miss Munro, and others, whose kind assistance before the meeting and afterwards so materially contributed to its success.

A HANDSOME OFFER.

A member writes:—"If members of the W.S.P.U. would call on the mistress of a high school or board school in the town or village where they happen to be and find out whether she would be ready to accept and read VOTES FOR WOMEN regularly, I would be willing to pay the cost of supplying them through the local news-agent for six months."

As the member prefers to remain anonymous those willing to avail themselves of this offer should write to the Circulation Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. And as the total number to be supplied is limited, application should be made as soon as possible.

SUMMER CAMPAIGN IN IRELAND.

Large and interested crowds continue to attend the weekly meetings of the Irish Women's Franchise League in Kingstown and Phoenix Park. In the North of Ireland also meetings have been held, three in North Down, at one of which, in Dunmurry Courthouse, Mr. H. Law, M.P., spoke most strongly in favour of the cause, and a resolution in favour of Woman Suffrage was passed unanimously. In Portrush, one of Ireland's most fashionable watering-places, Mrs. Cousins, M.S. Bac., held two largely attended and very sympathetic open-air meetings. A third was held there on Friday in the Town Hall, at which Mr. H. Barrie, M.P., took the Chair—the other speakers being Miss Eva Macnaghten, the Hon. Malcolm Macnaghten, and Mrs. Cousins. The Chairman read a letter of apology for absence from the local Member of Parliament, Mr. Kerr-Smiley, in which he stated his approval of Woman Suffrage. A resolution calling on the Government to give facilities for the Bill was carried by a very crowded and representative audience with only four dissentients. The influence and help of Lady Sybil Smith and Mrs. Robinson, P.L.G., were mainly responsible for the success of these meetings.

THE WOMEN COMPOSITORS.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.
Dear Sir,—Your excellent article on "Edinburgh Women Compositors and the Right to Work" gives a very clear account of the present dispute, but may I draw attention to one omission? You rightly state that the men are asking for the ultimate total elimination of women from a skilled trade for which they have shown special aptitude for 38 years, but you have omitted to say that the men promise to safeguard the interests of the 700 to 800 women now employed. This promise may have been given from motives of justice, but it is also astute policy. The effect is to make it of no immediate benefit to any individual woman to fight the men's proposals. The women who have been brave enough to form the Women's Compositors' Society are not working directly in their own interests; their own positions would be made more secure by the elimination of competition if the men won and kept their promise. All the more honour is due to them, therefore, for fighting to keep the trade open for the women of the future, for fighting for the sake of the principle of the right to work rather than for their own immediate advantage. Stories of self-sacrifice are too common in the Woman's movement to make it necessary to enlarge on this point, but for the sake of fairness to the men and in justice to Miss McLean and her fellow workers, may I ask you to insert this supplementary information in your next issue?

Yours &c.

A WOMAN WORKER.

HOW TO HELP.

A reader of VOTES FOR WOMEN, seeing that no notice was taken of the great Procession of July 23 in a weekly county paper, wrote to the paper sending a full account and suggesting that further details could be found in VOTES FOR WOMEN. As the journal in question has a large circulation both in town and country, this was an excellent way of bringing new people into touch with the movement. It is the kind of holiday work which many people might do.

WEDDING AND BIRTHDAY PRESENTS.

For the most beautiful designs, combined with the highest quality at competitive prices, see the collection of Gem Jewellery, Gold and Silver Plate on view at the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company, Ltd., 112, Regent Street, London, W. (adv.)

The PRIMROSE LAUNDRY, Ltd.

BENDON VALLEY, EARLSFIELD, LONDON, S.W.

Where the Washing is done in the good old-fashioned way—plenty of pure honest soap and unlimited soft water.

Where no injurious Bleaches or other chemicals are employed.

Where Flannels are carefully handled—not machined—in distilled water with pure oil soap, to avoid shrinkage.

Where the Linen—a sweet, clear country white, thoroughly aired—de promptly and correctly delivered by own vans to the customers.

Where all work is personally supervised by the manageress.

PURE SOFT WATER & HONEST SOAP

Send Postcard to the Lady Secretary for further particulars and Price List.

PURE OLIVE OIL.
The "HEDE-LOIS" Brand is the FINEST in the WORLD.
The PROMINENT MEMBER of W.S.P.U. —
"I have recommended your oil to many people and shall continue to do so as it is most excellent."
Bottles 2s. and 3s. 4d. carriage paid anywhere in the United Kingdom. Sample Bottles of two sizes 6d. & 8d. post free.
G. CLAYTON, 41, St. Andrews Rd., Enfield, London, N.

NOTHING LIKE LEATHER FOR SUFFRAGETTES' WEAR

The Famous HMMELINE (Two in one) and CHRISTABEL SHOPPING BAGS.
Ties, Belts, Chains, Albums, Presentation, Wedding and Birthday Gifts. Clients' ideas carefully carried out. Designs submitted.
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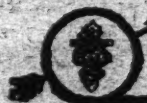
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can be had in Vests, Combinations, Spencers, Bodices, Knickers, Drawers, Night-dresses, and Belts, also in all shapes and weights for Men and Children.

Mrs. E. M. MORLEY writes:
"I have proved for some years all you say in favour of 'Pesco' is quite correct, and I never wear any other than 'Pesco'."

THE "PESCO" FASHION IN WOOLLENS.

The PESCO Fashion which to-day rules the Underwear choice of thousands of women, places within your reach, at moderate cost, undergarments of dignified design in whatever style or size you want them. If you permit it to guide you to a selection of Woollens this winter you will secure Underwear which not only claims all-wool purity and the absence of rough seams, but which is so woven as to give the maximum degree of protection, durability and comfort this substance is capable of yielding.

PESCO Underwear



No Garment is genuine 'Pesco' without this mark, and anyone who wears it which shrinks in washing will be replaced free.

PESCO is made by the experts of Scotland in its largest factory, is shaped to the figure on machines, is strengthened at hard-wearing parts, and observes throughout manufacture the highest ideals possible.

How to obtain PESCO.—Send postcard for select patterns for present wear, together with booklets and names of nearest agents where PESCO can be obtained in all shapes and sizes for Ladies, Gentlemen and Children.

The PESCO WORKS, (Ld.) A. & J. HAWICK, N.B.

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JOHN BOND'S "CRYSTAL PALACE" MARKING INK

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Awarded 46 GOLD Medals and Royal Appointments for Superiority.

AND ENCLOSED WITH EVERY BOTTLE A VOUCHER ENTITLING PURCHASERS TO THEIR NAME OR MONOGRAM SURKEE STAMP, WITH PAD AND BRUSH. ALSO WITH 12 SIZE A LINEN STRETCHER.

100 YEARS' WORLD-WIDE REPUTATION. Price 6d. and 1s. Sold by all Stationers, Chemists and Grocers.

The one Right Man

for Building Repairs, Painting, Whitewashing, Paperhanging, and everything in that line is WARREN, 4, Evangelist Court, Pilgrim Street, E.C. Tel. 11,339 Central. No job too small. Now, don't forget.

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5, Brecknock Road, and 275, High Street, Camden Town, N.W.

Dry Cleaning in all its branches, and Dyeing in latest Fashionable Shades.

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Illustrated booklet containing full particulars of Tour and arrangements for visiting Bavarian Highlands. **SWITZERLAND IN SUMMER.** Special booklet describing Tours in Switzerland and ways of getting there, with detailed arrangements from **CONTINENTAL TRAVEL LTD.,** 5, Endsleigh Gardens, London, N.W.

THE R.M.S. "DUNOTTAR CASTLE," of the Union-Castle Line (the only large steamer too far at Lloyd's entirely devoted to pleasure Cruises) is chartered for

£12 12s.—OPORTO, LISBON, CADIZ (for Seville), GIBRALTAR, TANGIER, September 16—30.

£18 18s.—NAPLES, MONTENEGRO, DALMATIA, VENICE, CORFU, October 1—20.

Also later cruises Palestine and Egypt.

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Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers

Private Lessons in Singing.

Singing Classes and Ladies' Choir.

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BECHSTEIN STUDIOS,

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MR. CHODWICK BROWN,

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ESTABLISHED 35 YEARS.

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Good Work and Good Wages.

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A Large Room may be Engaged for Meetings, Etc. No Charge to Members of the W.S.P.U.

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All Garments made in own work-rooms.

Coat & Skirt

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Black, Navy, & Cream Serge

Downs ... 2 Gns.

Tweed, Cloth, & Linen ... 2 Gns.

Wool, Hosiery, Flannels, Fancy

Suitings ... 2 1/2 Gns.

Faced Cloth, Covert

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